

Message Text

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DRAFTED BY S:LSEAGLEBURGER:ML

APPROVED BY S - MR. EAGLEBURGER

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NODIS

CHEROKEE

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: OVIP (KISSINGER, HENRY A.), PFOR, AO

SUBJECT: ANGOLA

FOR THE SECRETARY FROM EAGLEBURGER

1. AT DOBRYNIN'S REQUEST I SAW VORONTSOV AT 2:00 P.M. THIS AFTERNOON TO RECEIVE THE BELOW QUOTED "RESPONSE" ON ANGOLA. VORONTSOV PREFACED HIS REMARKS BY SAYING THAT THIS MESSAGE WAS PREPARED IN MOSCOW AFTER YOUR PRESS CONFERENCE OF THE 23D, BUT BEFORE MOSCOW HAD RECEIVED DOBRYNIN'S REPORT OF YOUR LAST MEETING WITH HIM. VORONTSOV WENT ON TO SAY THAT THEY ARE NOT CLEAR WHETHER THERE WILL BE ANY ADDITIONAL MESSAGE ON ANGOLA FROM MOSCOW AS A RESULT OF YOUR MEETING WITH DOBRYNIN ON DECEMBER 26. THIS MESSAGE BASICALLY ADDRESSES THE "STIFF" PUBLIC REMARKS MADE BY YOU AND THE PRESIDENT OVER THE COURSE OF THE LAST WEEK OR SO. VORONTSOV WENT ON TO HIGHLIGHT, HOWEVER, THE MORE "CONCILIATORY" TONE

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OF THE LAST SEVERAL PARAGRAPHS OF THE MOSCOW MESSAGE. HE

SAID THAT WHILE THESE WERE NOT DIRECTLY ADDRESSED TO THE POINTS YOU HAD MADE TO DOBRYNIN, THEY DID INDICATE A CONCILIATORY ATTITUDE.

2. TEXT OF MESSAGE GIVEN ME BY VORONTSOV FOLLOWS. THE

ENGLISH IS SOMEWHAT FRACTURED BUT I THOUGHT IT BETTER TO SEND IT TO YOU AS CLOSE TO VERBATIM AS POSSIBLE IN ORDER TO AVOID ANY POSSIBLE MISINTERPRETATIONS.

3. BEGIN TEXT IN MOSCOW IT CANNOT BUT CAUSE BEWILDERMENT WHEN HIGH U.S. OFFICIALS MAKE PUBLIC STATEMENTS IN CONNECTION WITH THE EVENTS IN ANGOLA WHICH, TO PUT IT MILDLY, ARE UNFRIENDLY TOWARD THE SOVIET UNION. ALLEGATIONS OF INTERFERENCE BY THE SOVIET UNION IN THE AFFAIRS OF ANGOLA SOUND ESPECIALLY STRANGE WHEN MADE BY AMERICAN LEADERS IN LIGHT OF THE FACTS WHICH ARE NOW PUBLIC KNOWLEDGE, BUT WHICH WERE SECRETLY KNOWN TO US EVEN EARLIER.

4. IT IS KNOWN, FOR EXAMPLE, THAT AFTER CONCLUSION IN JANUARY 1975 OF AN AGREEMENT AMONG THE THREE ANGOLAN MOVEMENTS -- MPLA, FNLA AND UNITA -- ON THE METHODS OF DECLARING ANGOLAN INDEPENDENCE AND THE CREATION OF A TRANSITIONAL GOVERNMENT WITH INCLUSION IN ITS COMPOSITION OF REPRESENTATIVES OF THOSE MOVEMENTS, THE SOVIET UNION WELCOMED SUCH A DEVELOPMENT IN ANGOLA, INCLUDING THE CREATION OF A TRANSITIONAL GOVERNMENT.

5. IT IS ALSO KNOWN, HOWEVER, THAT THE UNITED STATES AND ITS APPROPRIATE SERVICES TOOK A HAND IN DISRUPTING THE NORMAL FUNCTIONING OF THAT GOVERNMENT, USING ITS AGENTS IN THE LEADERSHIP OF FNLA AND UNITA, WHO TURNED THESE SEPARATIST GROUPINGS IN THE FINAL ANALYSIS INTO TOOLS OF FOREIGN FORCES AND COLLABORATORS WITH FOREIGN INTERVENTION. NOW IT IS KNOWN TO THE WHOLE WORLD WHO STARTED THE SUPPLY OF WEAPONS INTO ANGOLA, IN WHAT QUANTITIES, AND INTO WHOSE HANDS.

6. AFTER THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE OF THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF ANGOLA, AND AFTER CREATION OF ITS LOCAL
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GOVERNMENT, IT CAME TO THE POINT WHERE THE UNITED STATES, IN ITS ATTEMPTS TO IMPEDE THIS INDEPENDENCE, DID NOT EVEN STOP AT HAND IN HAND ACTIVITY WITH THE SOUTH AFRICAN REGIME -- A REGIME CONDEMNED IN THE WHOLE WORLD FOR ITS OVERT RACISM AND INHUMANITY. WHY THIS WAS NECESSARY IS BEST KNOWN TO THE AMERICAN LEADERS THEMSELVES.

7. THE SOVIET UNION DOES NOT SEEK ANYTHING FOR ITSELF IN

ANGOLA. VARIOUS ALLEGATIONS AS TO OUR INTENTIONS TO ESTABLISH MILITARY BASES THERE, AS WELL AS GENERAL CLAIMS OF MILITARY EXPANSION OF THE USSR IN ANGOLA ARE FALSE. THE UNITED STATES SIDE KNOWS PERFECTLY WELL OUR NEGATIVE POSITION OF PRINCIPLE WITH REGARD TO THE ESTABLISHMENT OF MILITARY BASES ON THE TERRITORY OF FOREIGN STATES.

8. THE SUPPORT BY THE SOVIET UNION -- AND WE DO NOT HIDE IT -- OF THE LAWFUL GOVERNMENT OF THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF ANGOLA IS COMPLETELY DETERMINED BY OUR ADHERENCE TO THE CAUSE OF UPROOTING OF COLONIALISM, AND TO THE PRINCIPLES OF FREEDOM AND INDEPENDENCE OF PEOPLES. WE REPEAT THAT THE ONLY THING WE WANT IS TO GUARD THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF ANGOLA FROM OUTSIDE INTERFERENCE, AND TO GIVE HER ASSISTANCE IN DEFENSE OF HER SOVEREIGNTY, INDEPENDENCE AND TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY.

9. THE COURSE OF THE SOVIET UNION TOWARDS THE SUPPORT OF THE NATIONAL LIBERATION FORCES OF ANGOLA, WHILE NATURALLY ARISING FROM THE BASIC PRINCIPLES OF SOVIET FOREIGN POLICY, AT THE SAME TIME IS NOT ONLY NOT IN CONTRADICTION, BUT FULLY CONSISTENT WITH, THE PRINCIPLES OF THE DECLARATION ON DECOLONIZATION ADOPTED BY THE UNITED NATIONS.

10. THE FACT THAT THE SOVIET UNION SUPPORTS THE RIGHTEOUS CAUSE IN ANGOLA -- THAT IT STANDS ON THE SIDE OF THE FORCES WHICH EXPRESS THE WILL OF THE PEOPLE OF ANGOLA -- DOES NOT NEED SPECIAL PROOF. IT CAN BE CORROBORATED, FOR EXAMPLE, BY THE FACT THAT IN ADDITION TO THE SOVIET UNION, DOZENS OF STATES IN THE WORLD -- INCLUDING AFRICAN STATES -- HAVE ALREADY RECOGNIZED THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF ANGOLA. AT THE SAME TIME, CLAIMS OF POWER IN ANGOLA ON THE PART OF SEPARATIST GROUPINGS WHICH
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HAVE TIED THEMSELVES TO FOREIGN INTERESTS AND DIRECTLY COLLUDED WITH INTERVENTIONISTS, HAVE BROUGHT NO RESULTS. A FICTITIOUS GOVERNMENT CREATED BY THEM HAS NOT BEEN RECOGNIZED BY ANY SINGLE STATE.

11. THE SOVIET UNION CANNOT BE, AND NEVER WAS, AGAINST A POLITICAL SOLUTION IN ANGOLA. AS WE HAVE ALREADY TOLD PRESIDENT FORD, THE SOVIET UNION WOULD ONLY WELCOME SUCH A COURSE OF ACTION, WHICH WOULD AIM AT A CONSOLIDATION IN ANGOLA OF ALL FORCES WHO ARE IN FAVOR OF REAL INDEPENDENCE AND THE FREE DEVELOPMENT OF THEIR COUNTRY. WE ARE IN FAVOR OF ENDING THE BLOODSHED. WE ARE IN FAVOR OF PEACE IN ANGOLA. BUT IT IS CLEAR THAT WHAT IS NEEDED FOR THIS IS FIRST OF ALL THE CESSATION OF MILITARY INTERVENTION AND IN GENERAL THE END OF INTERFERENCE INTO THE INTERNAL

AFFAIRS OF ANGOLA ON THE PART OF THOSE WHO RESIST THE WILL OF THE ANGOLAN PEOPLE. TO PUT THE INTERVENTIONISTS AND THEIR COLLABORATORS ON THE SAME LEVEL AS THE PATRIOTIC FORCES, WITH THEIR LAWFUL GOVERNMENT OF THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF ANGOLA AT THE HEAD, WOULD BE UNJUSTIFIED.

12. WE SEE THE RESPONSIBILITY OF THE ORGANIZATION OF AFRICAN UNITY TO BE TO ENSURE FOR THE ANGOLAN PEOPLE IN

REALITY THE POSSIBILITY OF DECIDING FOR THEMSELVES THE QUESTIONS OF BUILDING A LIFE UNDER CONDITIONS OF INDEPENDENCE AND FREEDOM, WITHOUT ANY OUTSIDE INTERFERENCE. OUR POSITION IS WELL KNOWN TO THIS ORGANIZATION AND TO THE GOVERNMENTS OF THE AFRICAN STATES. WE ARE READY TO EXPRESS THAT POSITION PUBLICLY AS WELL.

13. SPEAKING FRANKLY, WE WOULD LIKE TO SEE NO SHADOW OR COMPLICATIONS APPEARING IN SOVIET-AMERICAN RELATIONS IN CONNECTION WITH ANGOLA. BUT THIS, OF COURSE, DEPENDS NEITHER SOLELY OR EVEN IN MAJOR PART ON US. END TEXT ROBINSON

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